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THE UNION:

BEING A

Condemnation of Mr. Helper's Scheme,

WITH A PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE

"IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

BY ONE WHO HAS CONSIDERED BOTH SIDES OF THE QUESTION.

27.5
1860

"Heigh, my hearts; cheerly, cheerly, my hearts; yare, yare: Take in the topsail—tend to the master's whistle."

[THE TEMPEST.

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1860

E449
.H488

THE UNION.

"What will you do with such as disagree?
Suppress them or miscall them policy?

We will do neither, good friend; our desire is unanimity, founded on a basis of justice and benefit to every one, and should our superstructure upon this basis be such as we opine it will, it will not result in "ill-timed efforts of officious love," nor perpetuate a state which those "who love too much, hate in the like extreme, and both the golden mean alike condemn." But on the contrary, will enable us to say:

"Teach me to feel another's wo,
To hide the faults I see;
That mercy I to others shew,
That mercy shew to me."

The magnitude and importance of the interests involved in the "irrepressible question" are such as to demand our utmost care, not to say or do anything calculated to excite bad feeling or embarrassment in the settlement of so important a question—our wish being to deal with it impartially, and apart from all reference to individual improprieties in any direction—a course, in our judgment, the

most likely to insure such a settlement as will obtain the countenance and support of all parties.

We have said our desire in dealing with this question, is, to build upon a basis of justice and benefit to every one —simply premising, in the first place, that, as there can only be but one opinion in regard to its moral aspect, discussion thereon is in no way necessary, for where all are agreed, no element of strife remains.

Most writers and orators who have advocated a removal of the shackles from our colored brethren, have, in the eagerness of their zeal, unwittingly, and, we think, unhappily, committed the too common error of proposing to take without giving—that is, to manumit without remunerating —accompanied with much personal narrative of cruelty, oppression and injustice, which, in turn, have excited rancour, bitterness and hatred to such a degree, that it is now next to impossible to obtain a fair, impartial and unimpassioned discussion of the subject. There has thus been created a barrier of the most formidable character to all the approaches to a settlement which have heretofore been attempted ; a barrier which stifles all discussion, and turns a deaf ear to all remonstrance, until, in the place of reason, argument and justice, we find compulsion on the one side, with defiant hate and stubborn resistance on the other— both teeming with "a mischief" which, if not removed, will culminate, ere long, and that, too, in a manner which may make the boldest bate his breath, and all lament that the mastery of intemperate zeal and bitter hate should have prevailed over the better qualities of reason, philanthropy

and justice. To obviate so great a disaster our wish is bent, and should the issue be such as we think it will, then all may rejoice in a sentiment, gratifying alike to land-owner, laborer and philanthropist—a sentiment that will "make mankind in conscious virtue bold."

When we consider that Slavery is an inheritance, introduced by our English ancestors 239 years since, and that it has all along had the sanction of statutory enactments, and that the present slaves and slave owners have been trained and accustomed to it from their infancy, we are, under those circumstances, in justice bound to recognize these elements, and to deal with the system as we would with any other property similarly introduced and established; and here let us say, we are stoutly at issue with Mr. Helper, and all who may endorse his views of demanding manumission without payment; for if it be as Mr. Helper says it is, that Slavery has been and is a curse, a blight, and a serious loss to the land owners in those States wherein it exists, and we do not dispute that it is so, it only makes the case so much the stronger why remuneration should be accorded to the slave owner; for again admitting the blighting effects of Slavery, commercially, apart from its pernicious influences in other directions, and that if its effects upon the non-slave-holding proprietor of land be disastrous, it is abundantly shown that they have been doubly so to the slave owner himself, and who, being thus clearly proved the greater sufferer of the two, is, therefore, by so much the more entitled to remuneration for that which ancient custom and high authority have recognized as property. We are not surprised,

therefore, at the indignation which has been excited in the minds of our Southern friends by Mr. Helper's proposals for a settlement of this question; for, now that we have read "the book," we can sympathize with them in much of their indignation, as, in our judgment, the schemes propounded are unjust, rash, and cruel, both to slave and slave owner, as we will hereafter show, while, as a *remedy* for the evils complained of, they are a decided failure.

To manumit and not remunerate, to give the negroes money in hand at the period of their manumission, and to encourage their removal from the Southern States, we again repeat, are unjust, rash, and cruel.

While holding aloof from the ultra party of either side, we will say we do consider Slavery an evil, clearly enough displayed by the census statistics, (we will confine ourselves, as much as possible, to its commercial phase;) politically, it is also an evil, being, as it is, so completely mixed up with, and so thoroughly in the way of all our legislation; its importance and prominence being thus forced upon us, whether we will or no, is sufficient justification for our entering the lists, and in doing so we may say that while we eschew all thought and intention of impertinently interfering in what may be called the domestic affairs of our Southern friends, we simply do so on the same principle which would induce us to knock up the inmates of a tenement in the block where we ourselves resided, to inform them that their premises were on fire, and that unless they made haste they might be burned to death and the whole block destroyed; it is in this spirit, therefore, that we approach the census

statistics, as bearing upon this question, and with the view that our Southern friends will, themselves fairly look the matter in the face, and take such action as their own interests, those of humanity, and the welfare and dignity of the Union demand.

We insert the first of the following tables, more for the purpose of showing the extraordinary error Mr. Helper has committed, in assuming the Free States could afford to part with the whole of their hay crop, for it is abundantly clear, that if the Free States parted with the whole of their hay crop, they would not possess cattle, horses and other crops to a tithe of the extent which they now do—well, then, comparing the value of the hay crop of the Free States for the year 1850—assuming it to be a crop which those States could afford to dispense with—its value at $11 20 per ton, as compared with the entire value of the cotton, tobacco, rice, hay, hemp, and cane-sugar crops of all the Slave States for the same year, is $3,533,275 greater than that of the cotton, tobacco, rice, hay, hemp, and cane-sugar crops of the Slave States—here are the figures :

Hay crop of the Free States, - - - - - - - - -	$142,138,998.
Sundry products of the Slave States, - - - - - -	138,605,723.
Balance in favor of the Free States, - - - - -	$3,533,275.

This is, therefore, an interesting comparison, only as hypothetically considered ; practically, it is altogether fallacious.

AREA OF THE FREE AND OF THE SLAVE STATES.

AREA OF THE FREE STATES.

States.	Square Miles.	Acres.	Inhabitants to sq. mile.
California,	155,980	99,827,200	.59
Connecticut,	4,674	2,991,360	79.33
Illinois,	55,405	35,359,200	15.37
Indiana,	33,809	21,637,760	29.24
Iowa,	50,914	32,584,960	3.78
Maine,	31,766	20,330,240	18.36
Massachusetts,	7,800	4,992,000	127.50
Michigan,	56,243	35,995,520	7.07
New Hampshire,	9,280	5,939,200	34.26
New Jersey,	8,320	5,324,800	58.84
New York,	47,000	30,080,000	65.90
Ohio,	39,964	26,576,960	49.55
Pennsylvannia,	46,000	29,440,000	50.26
Rhode Island,	1,306	835,840	112.97
Vermont,	10,212	6,535,680	30.76
Wisconsin,	53,924	34,511,360	5.66
	612,597	392,062,080	21.91

AREA OF THE SLAVE STATES.

States.	Square Miles.	Acres.	Inhabittants to sq mile.
Alabama,	50,722	32,027,490	15.21
Arkansas,	52,198	33,406,720	4.02
Delaware,	2,120	1,356,800	43.18
Florida,	59,268	37,931,520	1.48
Georgia,	58,000	37,120,000	15.62
Kentucky,	37,680	24,115,200	26.07
Louisiana,	41,255	26,403,200	12.55
Maryland,	11,124	7,119,360	52.41
Mississippi,	47,156	30,179,840	12.86
Missouri,	67,380	43,123,200	10.12
North Carolina,	50,704	32,450,560	17.14
South Carolina,	29,385	18,805,400	22.75
Tennessee,	45,600	29,184,000	21.99
Texas,	237,504	152,002,560	89
Virginia,	61,352	39,165,280	23.17
	851,448	544,926,720	11.29

POPULATION OF THE FREE AND OF THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

POPDLATION OF THE FREE STATES—1850.

States.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Total.
California. - -	91,635	962	92,597
Connecticut. - -	363,099	7,693	370,792
Illinois. - - -	846,034	5,436	851,470
Indiana. - - - -	977,154	11,262	988,416
Iowa. - - - -	191,881	333	192,214
Maine. - - - -	581,813	1,356	583,169
Massachusetts. -	985,450	9,064	994,514
Michigan. - - -	395,071	2,583	397,654
New Hampshire.	317,456	520	317,976
New Jersey. - -	465,509	23,810	489,555
Nsw York. - -	3,048,325	49,069	3,097,394
Ohio. - - - -	1,955,050	25,279	1,980,329
Pennsylvania. -	2,258160	53,626	2,311,786
Rhode Island. - -	143,875	3,670	147,545
Vermont. - - -	313,402	718	314,120
Wisconsin. - - -	304,756	535	305,391
	13,233,670	196,116	13,434,922

POPULATION OF THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

States.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
Alabama. -	426,514	2,265	342,844	771,623
Arkansas. - -	162,189	608	47,100	209,897
Delaware. -	71,169	18,073	2,290	91,532
Florida. - -	47,203	932	39,310	87,445
Georgia. - -	521,572	2,931	381,622	906,185
Kentucky. -	761,413	10,011	210,981	982 405
Louisiana. -	255,491	17,462	244,809	517,762
Maryland. -	417,943	74,723	90,368	583,034
Mississippi. -	295,718	930	309,878	606,326
Missouri. - -	592,004	2,618	87,422	682,044
N. Carolina.	553,028	27,463	288,548	869 039
S. Carolina. -	274,563	8,960	384,984	668,507
Tennesee. -	756,836	6,422	239,459	1,002,717
Texas. - -	154,034	397	58,161	212,592
Virginia. -	894,800	54,333	472,528	1,421,661
	6,184,477	228,138	3,200,364	9,612,979

RECAPITULATION.—AREA.

	Square Miles.	Acres.
Area of the Slave States,	851,448	544,926,720
Area of the Free States,	612,597	392,062,082
Balance in favor of Slave States,	238,851	152,864,638

RECAPITULATION.—POPULATION 1850.

	Whites.	Total.
Population of the Free States,	13,233,670	13,434,922
Population of the Slave States,	6,184,477	9,612,976
Balance in favor of the Free States,	7,049,193	3,821,946

FREE COLORED AND SLAVE.—1850.

Free Negroes in the Slave States,	228,138
Free Negroes in the Free States,	196,116
Excess of Free Negroes in the Slave States,	32,022
Slaves in the Slave States,	3,200,364
Free Negroes in the Free States,	228,138
Aggregate Negro Population of the Slave States in 1850,	3,428,502

THE TERRITORIES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Indian Territory,	71,127	
Kansas "	114,798	
Minnesota "	166,025	6,077
Nebraska "	335,882	
N. Mexico "	207,007	61,547
Oregon "	185,030	13,294
Utah "	269,170	11,380
Washington "	123,022	
Columbia, District of	60	*51,687
Agregate of Area and Population,	1,472,121	143,985

* Of the 51,687 inhabitants in the District of Columbia, in 1850, 10,057 were free colored, and 3,687 were slaves.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE FREE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Wheat, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Indian Corn, bushels.	Potatoes, (I. and S.) bushels.	Rye, bushels.	Barley, bushels.
California,	17,228	.....	12,236	10,292	.....	9,712
Connecticut,	41,762	1,258,738	1,935,043	2,689,805	600,893	19,099
Illinois,	9,414,575	10,087,241	57,646,984	2,672,294	83,364	110,795
Indiana,	6,214,458	5,655,014	52,964,363	2,285,048	78,792	45,483
Iowa,	1,530,581	1,524,345	8,656,799	282,363	19,916	25,093
Maine,	296,259	2,181,037	1,750,056	3,436,040	102,916	151,731
Massachusetts,	31,211	1,165,146	2,345,490	3,585,384	481,021	112,385
Michigan,	4,925,889	2,866,056	5,641,420	2,361,074	105,871	75,249
New Hampshire,	185,658	973,381	1,573,670	4,307,919	183,117	70,256
New Jersey,	1,601,190	3,378,063	8,759,704	3,715,251	1,255,578	6,492
New York,	13,121,498	26,552,814	17,858,400	15,403,997	4,148,182	3,585,059
Ohio,	14,487,351	13,472,742	59,078,695	5,245,760	425,918	354,358
Pennsylvania,	15,367,691	21,538,156	19,835,214	6,032,904	4,805,160	165,584
Rhode Island,	49	215,232	539,201	651,029	26,409	18,875
Vermont,	535,955	2,307,734	2,032,396	4,951,014	176,233	42,150
Wisconsin,	4,286,131	3,414,672	1,988,979	1,402,956	81,253	209,692
	72,157,486	96,590,371	242,618,650	59,033,170	12,574,623	5,002,013

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE FREE STATES.—1850.

STATES.	Buckwheat, bushels.	Beans and Peas, bushels.	Clover and Grass Seeds, bushels.	Flaxseed, bushels.	Value of Garden Products.	Value of Orchard Products.
California,	.....	2,292	.....	.....	$75,275	$17,700
Connecticut,	229,297	19,090	30,469	703	196,874	175,118
Illinois,	184,509	82,814	17,807	10,787	127,494	446,049
Indiana,	149,740	35,773	30,271	36,888	72,864	324,940
Iowa,	52,516	4,475	2,438	1,959	8,848	8,434
Maine,	104,523	205,541	18,311	580	122,387	342,865
Massachusetts,	105,895	43,709	6,087	72	600,020	463,995
Michigan,	472,917	74,254	26,274	519	14,738	132,650
New Hampshire,	65,265	70,856	8,900	189	56,810	248,560
New Jersey,	878,934	14,174	91,331	16,525	475,242	607,268
New York,	3,183,955	741,546	184,715	57,963	912,047	1,761,950
Ohio,	638,060	60,168	140,501	188,880	214,004	695,921
Pennsylvania,	2,193,692	55,231	178,943	41,728	688,714	723,389
Rhode Island,	1,245	6,846	5,036	.....	98,298	63,994
Vermont,	209,819	104,649	15,696	939	18,853	315,255
Wisconsin,	79,878	20,657	5,486	1,191	32,142	4,823
	8,550,245	1,542,295	762,265	358,923	$3,714,605	$6,332,914

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Wheat, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Indian Corn, bushels.	Potatoes, (I. and S.) bushels.	Rye, bushels.	Barley, bushels.
Alabama,	294,044	2,965,696	28,754,048	5,721,205	17,261	3,958
Arkansas,	199,639	656,183	8,893,939	981,981	8,047	177
Delaware,	482,511	604,518	3,145,542	305,985	8,066	56
Florida,	1,027	66,586	1,996,809	765,054	1,152	
Georgia,	1,088,534	3,820,044	30,080,099	7,213,807	53,750	11,501
Kentucky,	2,142,822	8,201,311	58,672,591	2,490,666	415,073	95,343
Louisiana,	417	89,637	10,266,373	1,524,085	475	
Maryland,	4,494,680	2,242,151	10,749,858	973,932	226,014	745
Mississippi,	137,990	1,503,288	22,446,552	5,003,277	9,606	228
Missouri,	2,981,652	5,278,079	36,214,537	1,274,511	44,268	9,631
North Carolina,	2,130,102	4,052,078	27,941,051	5,716,027	229,563	2,735
South Carolina,	1,066,277	2,322,155	16,271,454	4,473,960	43,790	4,583
Tennessee,	1,619,386	7,703,086	52,276,223	3,845,560	89,137	2,737
Texas,	41,729	199,017	6,028,876	1,426,803	3,108	4,776
Virginia,	11,212,616	10,179,144	35,254,319	3,130,567	458,930	25,437
	27,904,476	49,882,979	348,992,282	44,847,420	1,608,240	161,907

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE SLAVE STATES.—1850.

STATES.	Buckwheat, bushels.	Beans and Peas, bushels.	Clover and Grass Seeds, bushels.	Flaxseed, bushels.	Value of Garden Products.	Value of Orchard Products.
Alabama,	348	892,701	685	69	$84,821	$15,408
Arkansas,	175	285,738	526	321	17,150	40,141
Delaware,	8,615	4,120	3,928	904	12,714	46,574
Florida,	55	135,359	2	.....	8,721	1,280
Georgia,	250	1,142,011	560	622	76,500	92,776
Kentucky,	16,097	202,574	24,711	75,801	303,120	106,230
Louisiana,	3	161,732	99	.....	148,329	22,259
Maryland,	103,671	12,816	17,778	2,446	200,869	164,051
Mississippi,	1,121	1,072,757	617	26	46,250	50,405
Missouri,	23,641	46,017	4,965	13,696	99,454	514,711
N. Carolina,	16,704	1,584,252	1,851	38,196	39,462	34,348
S. Carolina,	283	1,026,900	406	55	47,286	35,108
Tennessee,	19,427	369,321	14,214	18,904	97,183	52,894
Texas,	59	179,351	10	26	12,354	12,505
Virginia,	214,898	521,579	53,155	52,318	183,047	177,137
	405,357	7,637,227	123,517	203,484	$1,377,260	$1,355,827

RECAPITTLATION—FREE STATES.

Wheat,	72,157,486	bushels	*a* 1 50	$108,236,229
Oats,	96,590,371	"	" 40	38,636,148
Indian Corn,	242,618,650	"	" 60	145,571,190
Potatoes, (I. & S.)	59,033,179	"	" 38	22,432,604
Rye,	12,574,623	"	" 1 00	12,574,623
Barley,	5,002,013	"	" 90	4,501,811
Buckwheat,	8,550,245	"	" 50	4,275,122
Beans and Peas,	1,542,295	"	" 1 75	2,699,015
Clover & Grass Seeds	762,265	"	" 3 00	2,286,795
Flax Seeds,	358,923	"	" 1 25	448,647
Garden Products,				3,714,605
Orchard Products,				6,332,914
Total,	499,190,041	bushels, valued as above, at		$351,709,703

RECAPITULATION—SLAVE STATES.

Wheat,	27,904,476	bushels	*a* 1 50	$41,856,714
Oats,	49,882,799	"	" 40	19,953,191
Indian Corn,	348,992,282	"	" 60	209,395,369
Potatoes, (I. & S.)	44,847,420	"	" 38	17,042,019
Rye,	1,608,240	"	" 1 00	1,608,240
Barley,	161,907	"	" 90	145,716
Buckwheat,	405,357	"	" 50	202,678
Beans and Peas,	7,637,227	"	" 1 75	13,365,147
Clover & Grass Seeds	123,517	"	" 3 00	370,551
Flax Seeds,	203,484	"	" 1 25	254,355
Garden Products,				1,377,260
Orchard Products,				1,355,827
Total,	$481,766,889	bushels, valued as above, at,		$306,927,067

TOTAL DIFFERENCE—BUSHEL-MEASURE PTODUCTS.

	Bushels.		Value.
Free States	499,190,041		$351,709,703
Slave States	481,766,889		306,927,067
Balance in bushels,	17,423,152	Difference in value,	$44,782,636

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE FREE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Hay, tons.	Hemp, tons.	Hops, lbs.	Flax lbs.	Maple Sugar, lbs.	Tobacco, lbs.
California,	2,038	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000
Connecticut,	516,131	.....	554	17,928	50,796	1,267,624
Illinois,	601,952	.....	3,551	160,063	248 904	841,394
Indiana,	403,230	.....	92,796	584,469	2,921,192	1,044,620
Iowa,	89,055	.....	8,242	62,660	78,407	6,041
Maine,	755,889	.....	40,120	17,081	93,542	
Massachusetts,	651,807	.....	121,595	1,162	795,525	138,246
Michigan,	404,934	.....	10,663	7,152	2,439,794	1,245
New Hampshire,	598,854	.....	257,174	7,652	1,298,863	50
New Jersey,	435,950	.....	2,133	182,965	2,197	310
New York,	3,728,797	4	2,536,299	940,577	10,357,484	83,189
Ohio,	1,443,142	150	63,731	446,932	4,588,209	10,454,449
Pennsylvania,	1,842,970	44	22,088	530,307	2,326,525	912,651
Rhode Island,	74,418	.....	277	85	28	
Vermont,	866,153	.....	288,023	20,852	6,349,357	
Wisconsin,	275,662	.....	15,930	68,393	610,976	1,268
	12,690,982	198	3,463,176	3,048,278	32,161,799	14,752,087

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Hay, tons.	Hemp, tons.	Hops, lbs.	Flax, lbs,	Maple Sugar, lbs.	Tobacco, lbs.	Cotton, bales of 400 lbs.	Cane Sugar, hds of 1,000 lbs.	Rough Rice, lbs.
Alabama, - -	32,685	....	276	3,921	643	164,990	564,429	87	2,312,252
Arkansas, - -	3,976	15	157	12,291	9,330	218,936	65,344	.....	63,179
Delaware, - -	30,159	....	348	17,174	.....		.....	.....	
Florida, - -	2,510	....	14	50	.....	998,614	45,131	2,750	1,075,090
Georgia, - -	23,449	....	261	5,387	50	423,924	499,091	846	38,950,691
Kentucky, -	113,747	17,787	4,309	2,100,116	437,405	55,501,196	758	10	5,688
Louisiana, - -	25,752	....	125	.....	255	26,878	178,737	226,001	4,425,349
Maryland, -	157,956	63	1,870	35,686	47,740	21,407,497	.....	.....	
Mississippi, - -	12,504	7	473	665	.....	49,960	484,292	8	2,719,856
Missouri, - -	116,925	16,028	4,130	627,160	178,910	17,113,784	.....	.....	700
North Carolina,	145,653	39	9,246	593,796	27,932	11,984,786	50,545	.....	5,465,868
South Carolina,	20,925	....	26	333	200	74,285	300,901	77	159,930,613
Tennessee, - -	74,091	595	1,032	368,131	158,557	20,148,932	194,532	3	258,854
Texas, - - -	8,354	....	7	1,048	.....	66,897	58,072	7,351	88,203
Virginia, - -	369,098	139	11,506	1,000,450	1,227,665	56,803,227	3,947	.....	17,154
	1,137,784	34,673	33,780	4,768,198	2,088,687	185,023,906	2,445,779	237,133	215,313,497

ANIMAL PRODUCTS OF THE FREE AND THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

ANIMAL PROLUCTS OF THE FREE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Wool, lbs.	Butter and Cheese, lbs.	Beeswax and Honey, lbs.
California, - - -	5,520	855	
Connecticut, - -	497,454	11,861,396	93,304
Illinois, - - - -	2,150,113	13,804,768	869,444
Indiana, - - -	2,610,287	13,506,099	935,329
Iowa, - - - - -	373,898	2,381,028	321,711
Maine, - - - -	1,364,034	11,678,265	189,618
Massachusetts, - -	585,136	15,159,512	59,508
Michigan, - - -	2,043,283	8,077,390	359,232
New Hampshire, -	1,108,476	10,173,619	117,140
New Jersey, - -	375,396	9,852,966	156,694
New York, - - -	10,071,301	129,507,507	1,755,830
Ohio, - - - -	10,196,371	55,268,921	804,275
Pennsylvania, - -	4,481,570	42,383,452	839,509
Rhode Island, - -	129,692	1,312,178	6,347
Vermont, - - -	3,400,717	20,858,814	249,422
Wisconsin, - - -	253,963	4,034,033	131,005
	39,647,211	349,860,783	6,888,368

ANIMAL PRODUCTS OF THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Wool, lbs.	Butter and Cheese, lbs.	Beeswax and Honey, lbs.
Alabama, - - -	657,118	4,040,223	897,021
Arkansas, - - -	182,595	1,884,327	192,338
Delaware, - - -	57,768	1,058,495	41,248
Florida, - - - -	23,247	389,513	18,971
Georgia, - - - -	990,019	4,687,535	732,514
Kentucky, - -	2,297,433	10,161,477	1,158,019
Louisiana, - - -	109,897	685,026	96,701
Maryland, - - -	477,438	3,810,135	74,802
Mississippi, - - -	559,619	4,367,425	397,460
Missouri, - - -	1,627,164	8,037,931	1,328,972
North Carolina, -	970,738	4,242,211	512,289
South Carolina, -	487 233	2,986,820	216,281
Tennessee, - - -	1,364,378	8,317,266	1,036,572
Texas, - - - -	131,917	2,440,199	380,825
Virginia, - - - -	2,860.765	11,525,651	880,767
	12,797,329	68,634,224	7,964,760

RECAPITULATION.—FREE STATES.

Hay,	28,427,799,680 lbs.	*a*	1-2 *c.*	$142,138,998
Hemp,	443,520 "	"	5 "	22,176
Hops,	3,463,176 "	"	15 "	519,476
Flax,	3,048,278 "	"	10 "	304,827
Maple Sugar,	32,161,799 "	"	8 "	2,572,943
Tobacco,	14,752,087 "	"	10 "	1,475,208
Wool,	39,647,211 "	"	35 "	13,876,523
Butter and Cheese,	349,860,783 "	"	15 "	52,479,117
Beeswax and Honey,	6,888,368 "	"	15 "	1,033,255
Total,	$28,878,064,902 lbs., valued as above,			$214,422,523

RECAPITULATION.—SLAVE STATES.

Hay,	2,548,636,160 lbs.	*a*	1-2 *c.*	$12,743,180
Hemp,	77,667,520 "	"	5 "	3,883,376
Hops,	33,780 "	"	15 "	5,067
Flax,	4,766,198 "	"	10 "	476,619
Maple Sugar,	2,088,687 "	"	8 "	167,094
Tobacco,	185,023,906 "	"	10 "	18,502,390
Wool,	12,797,329 "	"	35 "	4,479,065
Butter and Cheese,	68,634,224 "	"	15 "	10,295,133
Beeswax and Honey,	7,964,760 "	"	15 "	1,194,714
Cotton,	978,311,600 "	"	8 "	78,264,928
Cane Sugar,	237,133,000 "	"	7 "	16,599,310
Rice, (rough)	215,313,497 "	"	4 "	8,612,539
Total,	4,338,370,661 lbs., valued as above, at			$155,223,415

TOTAL DIFFERENCE.—POUND-MEASURE PRODUCTS.

	Pounds.	*Value.*
Free States,	28,878,064,902	$214,422,523
Slave States,	4,338,370,661	155,223,415
Balance in pounds,	24,539,694,241	Difference in value, $59,199,108

ACTUAL CROPS PER ACRE ON THE AVERAGE IN THE FREE AND IN THE SLAVE STATES.—1850.

ACTUAL CROPS PER ACRE ON THE AVERAGE IN THE FREE STATES.—1850.

STATES.	Wheat, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Rye, bushels.	Ind. Corn, bush.	I. Potatoes bush.
Connecticut,	..	21	..	40	85
Illinois,	11	29	14	33	115
Indiana,	12	20	18	33	100
Iowa,	14	36	..	32	100
Maine,	10	..	..	27	120
Massachusetts,	16	26	13	31	170
Michigan,	10	26	..	32	140
New Hampshire,	11	30	..	30	220
New Jersey,	11	26	..	33	...
New York,	12	25	17	27	100
Ohio,	12	21	25	36	...
Pennsylvannia,	15	..	..	20	75
Rhode Island,	..	30	..	..	100
Vermont,	13	..	20	32	178
Wisconsin,	14	35	..	30	...
	161	325	107	436	1,503

ACTUAL CROPS PER ACRE ON THE AVERAGE IN THE SLAVE STATES.—1850.

STATES.	Wheat, bush.	Oats, bushels.	Rye, bushels	Ind. Corn, bush.	I. Potatoes bush.
Alabama,	5	12	..	15	60
Arkansas,	..	18	..	22	...
Delaware,	11	20	..	20	...
Florida,	15	..	..	..	175
Georgia,	5	18	7	16	125
Kentucky,	8	18	11	24	130
Louisiana,	..	..	..	16	...
Maryland,	13	21	18	23	75
Mississippi,	9	12	..	18	105
Missouri,	11	26	..	34	110
North Carolina,	7	10	15	17	65
South Carolina,	8	12	..	11	70
Tennessee,	7	19	7	21	120
Texas,	15	..	..	20	250
Virginia,	7	13	5	18	75
	121	199	63	275	1,360

RECAPITULATION OF ACTUAL CROPS PER ACRE ON THE AVERAGE.—1850.

FREE STATES.

Wheat,	12	bushels	per acre.
Oats,	27	"	"
Rye,	18	"	"
Indian Corn,	31	"	"
Irish Potatoes,	125	"	"

SLAVE STATES.

Wheat,	9	bushels	per acre.
Oats,	17	"	"
Rye,	11	"	"
Indian Corn,	20	"	"
Irish Potatoes,	113	"	"

VALUE OF FARMS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE FREE AND IN THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

VALUE OF FARMS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE FREE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Value of Live Stock.	Value of Animals Slaughtered.	Cash Value of Farms, Farming Implements, and Machinery.
California. -	$3,351,058	$107,173	$3,977,524
Connecticut:	7,467,490	2,202,266	74,618,963
Illinois. - -	24,209,258	4,972,286	102,538,851
Indiana. - -	22,478,555	6,567,935	143,089,617
Iowa. - -	3,689 275	821,164	17,830,436
Maine. - -	9,705,726	1,646,773	57,146,305
Mass. - -	9,647,710	2,500,924	112,285,931
Michigan. -	8,008,734	1,328,327	54,763,817
N. Hampshire.	8,871,901	1,522,873	57,560,122
N. Jersey. -	10,679.291	2,638,552	124,663,014
N. York. -	73,570,499	13,573,883	576,631,568
Ohio. - - -	44,121,741	7,439,243	371,509,188
Pennsylvania.	41,500,053	8,219,846	422,598,640
R. Island. -	1,532,637	667,486	17,568,003
Vermont. -	12,643,228	1,861,336	66,106,509
Wisconsin. -	4,897,385	920,178	30,170,131
	$286,376,541	$56,990,237	$2,233,058,619

VALUE OF FARMS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

STATES.	Value of Live Stock.	value of Animals Slaughtered.	Cash Value of Farms, Farmiug Implements and Machinery.
Alabama. - - -	$21,690,112	$4,823,485	$69, 448,887
Arkansas. - -	6,647,969	1,163,313	16,866,541
Deleware. - -	1,849,281	373 665	19,390,310
Florida. - - -	2,880,058	514,685	6,981,904
Georgia. - - -	25,728,416	6,339.762	101,647,595
Kentucky. - -	29,661,436	6,462,598	160,190,299
Louisiana. - -	11,152275	1.458,990	87,391,336
Maryland. - -	7,997,634	1,954,800	89,641,988
Mississippi. - -	19,403,662	3,636,582	60,501,561
Missouri. - -	19,887,580	3,367,106	67,207,068
N. Carolina. - -	17,717,647	5,767,866	71,823,298
S. Carolina. -	15,060,015	3,502,637	86,568,038
Tennessse. - -	29978016	6,401,765	103,211,422
Texas. - - - -	10,412,927	1,116.137	18,701,712
Virginia. - - -	33,656,659	7,502,986	223,423,315
	$253,723,687	$54,388,377	$1,183,995,274

RECAPITULATION—FREE STATES.

Value of Live Stock.	$286,376,541
Value of Animals slaughtered.	56,990,237
Value of Farms, Farming Implements and Machinery.	2,233,058,619
Total.	$2,576,425,397

RECAPITULATION—SLAVE STATES.

Value of Live Stock.	$253,723,687
Value of Animals slaughtered.	54,388,377
Value of Farms, Farming Implements and Machinery.	1,183,995,274
Total.	$1,492,107,338

DIFFERENCE IN VALUE—FARMS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

Free States.	$2,576,425,397
Slave States.	1,492,107,338
Balance in favor of the Free States.	$1,084,318,059

TONNAGE, EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE FREE AND OF THE SLAVE STATES—1855.

FREE STATES.	Tonnage.	Exports.	Imports.	SLAVE STATES.	Tonnage.	Exports.	Imports.
California, - - -	92,623	$8,224,066	$5,951,379	Alabama, - - -	36,274	$14,270,585	$619,964
Connecticut, -	137,170	878,874	636,826	Arkansas, - -			
Illinois, - - -	53.797	547,053	54,509	Delaware, - - -	19,186	68,087	5,821
Indiana, - - -	3,698			Florida, - - -	14,835	1,403,594	45.998
Iowa, - - - -				Georgia, - - -	29,505	7,543,519	273,716
Maine, - - -	806,587	4,851,207	2,927,443	Kentucky, - -	22,680		
Massachusetts, -	970,727	28,190,925	45,113,774	Louisiana, - - -	204,149	55,367,962	12,900,821
Michigan, - -	69,490	568,091	281,379	Maryland, - -	234.895	10,395,984	7,788,949
New Hampshire,	30,330	1,523	17,786	Mississippi, - -	2,475	. . . . .	1,661
New Jersey, -	121,020	687	1,473	Missouri, - -	60,592		
New York, - -	1,404,221	113,731,238	164,776.511	N. Carolina, - -	60,077	433,818	243,083
Ohio, - - - - -	91,607	847,143	600,656	S. Carolina, - -	60,935	12,700,250	1,588,542
Pennsylvania,- -	397,768	6,274,338	15,300,935	Tennessee, - - -	8,404		
Rhode Island, -	51,038	336,023	536,387	Texas, - - -	8,812	916,961	262,568
Vermont, - - -	6,915	2,895,468	591,593	Virginia, - - -	92,788	4,379,928	855,405
Wisconsin, - -	15,624	174,057	48,159				
	4,252,615	167,520,693	236,847,810		855,517	107,480,688	24,586,528

PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURES IN THE FREE AND IN THE SLAVE STATES—1850.

FREE STATES.	Value of Annual Products.	Capital Invested.	Hands Employed.	SLAVE STATES.	Value of Annual Products.	Capital Invested.	Hands Employed.
California, - -	$12 862 522	$1,006 197	3,964	Alabama, - -	$4,538,878	$3,450,606	4,936
Connecticut,	45,110 102	23,890,348	47,770	Arkansas,- -	607,436	324,065	903
Illinois, - - - -	17 236 073	6,385,387	12,065	Delaware,- -	4,649,296	2,978,945	3,888
Indiana, - - -	18.922 651	7,911,602	14,342	Florida, - -	668,338	547,060	991
Iowa, - - - - -	3,551,783	1,292,875	1,707	Georgia, - - -	7,086,525	5,460,483	8 378
Maine, - - - -	24 664,135	14,700,452	28,078	Kentucky, -	24,588,483	12,350.734	24,385
Massachusetts,	151,137.145	83,357,642	165,938	Louisiana, - -	7,320,948	5,318 074	6,437
Michigan, - - -	10,976,894	6,534,250	9,290	Maryland, -	32,477,702	14.753 143	30,124
N. Hampshire,	23.164,503	18,242,114	27,092	Mississippi, -	2,972,038	1.833,420	3,173
N. Jersey, - -	39,713.586	22,184,730	37,311	Missouri, - -	23,749,265	9.079.695	16 850
New York, - -	237,597.249	99,904,405	199,349	N. Carolina,	9,111,245	7,252.225	12,444
Ohio, - - - - -	62,647.259	29,019,538	51,489	S. Carolina,	7,063,513	6,056,865	7.009
Pennsylvania,	155,044,910	94,473,810	146,766	Tennessee, -	9,728,438	6,975.279	12,032
Rhode Island,	22,093.258	12,923,176	20,881	Texas,- - - -	1,165,538	539,290	1 066
Vermont, - -	8.570.920	5,001,377	8,445	Virginia, - -	29,705,387	18,109,993	29,109
Wisconsin, - -	9 293,068	3,382,148	6,089				
	$842.586,058	$430.240,051	780,576		$165,413.027	$95,029,879	161,733

MILES OF CANALS AND RAILROADS IN THE FREE AND IN THE SLAVE STATES. 1854—1857.

FREE STATES.	Canals, Miles, 1854.	Railroads, Miles, 1857.	Cost of Railroads, 1855.	SLAVE STATES.	Canals, Miles, 1854.	Railroads, Miles, 1857.	Cost of Railroads, 1855.
California.	.....	22		Alabama	51	484	$3,986,208
Connecticut.	61	600	$25,224,191	Arkansas			
Illinois.	100	2,524	55,663,656	Delaware	14	120	600,000
Indiana.	367	1,806	29,585,923	Florida	.....	86	250,000
Iowa.	.....	253	2,300,000	Georgia	28	1,062	17,034,802
Maine.	50	442	13,749,021	Kentucky	486	306	6,179,072
Massachusetts.	100	1,285	59,167,781	Louisiana	101	263	1,731,000
Michigan.	.....	600	22,370,397	Maryland	184	597	12,654,333
New Hampshire.	11	645	15,860,949	Mississippi	.....	410	4,520,000
New Jersey.	147	472	13,840,030	Missouri	.....	189	1,000,000
New York.	989	2,700	111,882,503	N. Carolina	13	612	6,847,213
Ohio.	921	2,869	67,798,202	S. Carolina	50	706	13,547,093
Pennsylvania.	936	2,407	94,657,675	Tennessee	.....	508	10,436,610
Rhode Island.	.....	85	2,614,484	Texas	.....	57	16,466,250
Vermont.	.....	515	17,998,835	Virginia	189	1,479	
Wisconsin,	.....	629	5,600,000				
	3,682	17,855	$538,313,647		1,116	6,859	$95,252,581

BANK CAPITAL IN THE FREE AND IN THE SLAVE STATES—1855.

FREE STATES.	Bank Capital.	SLAVE STATES.	Bank Capital.
California - - -		Alabama - - -	$2,296,400
Connecticut - -	$15,597,891	Arkansas - -	
Illinois - - - -	2,513,790	Delaware - - -	1,393,175
Indiana - - -	7,281,934	Florida - - -	
Iowa - - - - -		Georgia - - -	13,413,100
Maine - - - -	7,301,252	Kentucky - -	10,369,717
Massachusetts - -	54,492,660	Louisiana - - -	20,179,107
Michigan - - -	980,416	Maryland - -	10,411,874
New Hampshire -	3,626,000	Mississippi - -	240,165
New Jersey - -	5,314,885	Missouri - - -	1,215,398
New York - - -	83 773,288	North Carolina -	5,205,073
Ohio - - - -	7,166,581	South Carolina -	16,603,253
Pennsylvania - -	19,864,825	Tennessee - - -	6,717,848
Rhode Island -	17,511,162	Texas - - -	
Vermont - - -	3,275,656	Virginia - - -	14,033,838
Wisconsin - -	1,400,000		
Total - - -	$230,100,340	Total, - - -	$102,078,940

PATENTS ISSUED ON INVENTIONS IN THE FREE AND IN SLAVE STATES—1855.

FREE STATES.	Patents.	Slave States.	Patents
California. - -	13	Alabama. - - -	11
Connecticut. - -	142	Arkansas. - -	
Illinois. - - -	93	Delaware. - - -	8
Indiana. - - -	67	Florida. - - -	3
Iowa. - - - -	14	Georgia. - - -	13
Maine. - - - -	42	Kentucky. - -	26
Massachusetts. -	331	Louisiana. - - -	30
Michigan. - - -	22	Maryland. - -	49
N. Hampshire. -	43	Mississippi. - -	8
N. Jersey. - - -	78	Missouri. - - -	32
N. York. - - -	592	N. Carolina. - -	9
Ohio. - - - -	139	S. Carolina. - -	10
Pennsylvania. -	267	Tennessee. - - -	23
R. Island. - -	18	Texas. - - -	4
Vermont. - - -	35	Virginia. - - -	42
Wisconsin. - - -	33		
Total. - -	1,929	Total. - -	268

Add to this already overwhelming mass of evidence in favor of free over slave labor, the difference in the value of land in the Free States as compared with its value in the Slave, and we have every conceivable reason why Slaveholders in view alone of the commercial phase of this question, should gladly avail themselves of any feasible plan which may embrace the principle of remuneration by which they may rid themselves of a system that has been so disastrous and unhappy in all its results, and which has so astoundingly retarded the improvement of the Slave States, notwithstanding their greater natural advantages of soil, climate and position over those of the free.

So much, therefore, for the commercial facts of the case, and now for the justice of giving freedom to the colored race, and liberty and peace of mind to their masters.

Assuming to be true all that has been written and spoken, as to the generally kind and considerate treatment of the Slaves by their masters, and their freedom from care in not having directly to provide for the creature comforts of themselves and their offspring, and their being cared for when sick, aged or infirm, and as a rule the greater physical comforts they obtain than those which the average of free laborers enjoy, there is nevertheless that restless and inherent desire of freedom implanted in the breast of every one, which no efforts of kindness or amelioration of condition in other respects, be they ever so great, can ever efface. When to these is added the solemn admonition, "Do unto others as thou would'st be done by," necessity and mercy to slave-owner as well as slave, alike demand an early settlement of this question. We say to *slave-owner* as well as slave, for we hold that if it is the misfortune of any man to be born into and trained under a system of pernicious influences, it is our duty and our privilege to use every legitimate and equitable means of relieving him from so uncomfortable a lot.

We have already stated our desire, that the manumission of the slaves should be accompanied with a fair and equitable remuneration to their masters. Such a course we not only deem to be just, but politic.

Just, under the circumstances which established and sanctioned the system; and Politic as in the absence of compensation, we fail to see any probability of any other mode of settlement, short of that of a servile war, entailing consequences so calamitous to humanity, that we forbear from picturing in detail, what those would be—That this settlement should be effected speedily, all must admit, in view of the scandal to the dignity and sovereignty of our great Republic, so shamefully displayed by the recriminations of so many of our public men in the Senate, and the almost total suspension of the general business of the Union, in a manner most humiliating to public honor and virtue. Why? Who, of what order-loving and patriotic class is there, who would not cheerfully contribute his mite, to rid the Nation of so great a wrong and so huge a scandal? No, we cannot harbor a suspicion of failure on the question of compensation, for however large in the aggregate the amount may be, the question is too vast and altogether too momentous, to allow considerations of a pecuniary nature to stand in its way--there is, in all civilized communities, an amount of Philanthropy and Patriotism, which, when legitimately appealed to, is ever active in doing good, and which, when fairly aroused on behalf of works so important to humanity and public morality as the one now before us, become gigantic in their efforts and perfectly astonishing in their results. Let us cite an instance—when voluntary subscriptions were invited to raise a fund for the relief of those British soldiers and their families, who were sufferers by the war in the Crimea, one single town in Scotland—Glasgow, to wit—raised upwards of $100,000, to the fund in question, while the

contributions throughout the country at large were perfectly enormous.

Let the initiative, therefore, be taken on behalf of this great question now before us, in the way we will by and by suggest, and what between Philanthropical contributions, State aid, and apportionment of unoccupied lands, there will be means enough to settle this formidable business.

The safety and happiness of ten millions of souls, (the population of the Slave States,) and the integrity and dignity of the Republic are no small objects.

We have said we did not approve of Mr. Helper's proposed allowance to the Slaves of $60 per head at the period of their manumission, for with such money in hand coeval with the romance and novelty of their new position, who will say that the most evil consequences would not result from so dangerous a combination ? we would fear any such arrangement would be the inauguration of a new position which might not inaptly be described as "out of the frying pan into the fire." Now, in settling this question we don't wish to steer from Scylla to Charybdis, nor do we desire any emigration to Liberia, which by the way we can only look upon as a sort of sleepy philanthropic Utopia, no— what we want is, that while we change the domestic or feudal character between slave and slave owner, we do not disturb the relation of master and servant, employer and employee, but on the contrary provide by such Legislative enactments as may be necessary for the improvement and integrity of the latter position. We have to remember that the great mass of the colored race in the Southern States are there in their native land, or in other words, at home, and which the great bulk of them would not voluntarily desire to leave, nor would we wish to perpetrate so great an injustice, either to the land-owner or laborer, as to countenance any plan which would have a tendency to de-

prive the one of the labor necessary for the tillage of the soil, or remove the other from a locality where, in addition to the attraction of home associations, there would be an abundance of profitable employment, stimulated as it would be by the advantages of competition in the selection of industrious hands at good wages.

While, therefore, we would give every encouragement to the Negro to remain where he now is, and would stimulate him to habits of industry by a principle of remuneration, based on Job or Task work, prudence requires we should also make provision against any attempt at indolent squatting which might still further degenerate into a state of pauperism and crime, so that while we would have every encouragement to habits of industry, there would also be legislative provision for the support of the aged and infirm, and for the proper and efficient suppression of every description of able bodied pauperism ; with these guards established we see no reason to doubt that when manumission took place the consequences of the change would be otherwise than of a congratulatory character.

We have now to consider how long a period from the passing of an act for the manumission of the slaves and remuneration to their masters should be allowed to transpire, before the actual manumission takes place ; and we incline to think that the 1st of January, 1870, would be a suitable time as regards the existing population, and that all increase subsequent to the passing of the act should be free.

We have next to consider the best mode of giving practical effect to the views and suggestions we have now enunciated, and for this purpose we think there should in the first instance be private meetings of a few of the principal proprietors in each of the Slave States, at which the views of those who attended such meetings would be expressed,

and some approximation made as to what, under all the difficulties and peculiarities of the subject, would be a proper consideration or amount of remuneration for the freedom of their slaves ; such meetings to be followed by a general convention, composed of three delegates appointed at the preliminary meetings of the separate States, who would be enabled to communicate at the convention the opinions prevailing in each of their respective States, and by which they would be guided to some specific course of action or resolutions in the matter. And now before taking leave of the subject, we shall shortly advert to some of the benefits which an early settlement will ensure to the important interests involved.

1st. In place of danger, alarm, and general distrust between the white and colored races now so generally prevalent as evidenced by recent painful occurrences in Southern Virginia, there would be security, quiet, and general confidence.

2d. Instead of a laboring population, performing the work apportioned to them in a generally lazy, indolent, and thoroughly indifferent manner, we would have activity and energy superinduced and stimulated by a scale of payment proportionate to the quality and extent of the work performed.

3d. Instead of the Rural districts in the Southern States presenting an appearance to travelers of intelligence and observation causing the remark, " we always knew when we were in a Slave State from the inferior cultivation and general dilapidation of the buildings and fences ;" not only would those things cease to be, but fertile tracts would again be cultivated and would flourish and blossom as the rose.

4th. Instead of the white people of Europe, as well as those of our own continent being indisposed to investments and settlements in the Slave States—no sooner would any

enactment for the extinction of slavery pass into law, than would a steady stream of emigration and investment set in, and continue, until that difference in the value of land between the Slave and the Free States, which now exists, would cease to be.

Emigrants and Capitalists would soon find their account in the delightful salubrity, great fertility, and vast mineral riches of the South.

5th, Instead of discord, rancour, strife, violence and vulgar personalities amongst so many of our public men, and so seriously obstructive to public business, presenting a spectacle of the most humiliating and painful description—there would be order, decency, courtesy, and dignity, with efficient and beneficial legislation.

Have we said enough? we think we have, and we will now, therefore, merely entreat our generous and warm-hearted friends of the South, to take counsel in time, and bestir themselves in assuming an early initiative, towards the disposal of this all important and "irrepressible question," counselling them to approach it in a spirit of moderation and wisdom, and they may rely, their efforts in the good work will be warmly and generously seconded by the great mass of the well-thinking and order-loving portion of the Union.

But again we say, delay not, lest "the silver cord be loosened; or the golden bowl be broken; or the pitcher be broken at the fountain; or the wheel broken at the cistern."

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